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ABSTRACT

Results of a 1975 sociolinguistic survey of all the ethnic groups of the South African Black population are presented. The sample of 3,653 people between the ages of 15 and 54 was from the urban and rural areas of all the provinces and homelands of the Republic of South Africa. Findings indicate that proficiency in English is relatively strongly focused on the reading and writing skills, whereas proficiency in Afrikaans, although approximately equal to that of English, is relatively strongly focused on the comprehension and oral skills. English is used more often than Afrikaans for reading and writing, whereas Afrikaans is used more often than English in communication with Whites at work. The popularity of English as the medium of instruction at school is much higher than Afrikaans, but Afrikaans, because of practical considerations, is not ignored by the Black people. These trends in favor of English are especially demonstrable among more highly qualified and also among the urban Blacks. Among the lower qualified and rural Blacks, Afrikaans plays an important role, especially in contact with Whites. It is suggested that English is more a language of prestige for the Black population, whereas Afrikaans has a more pragmatic value. Information is presented on the respondent characteristics of qualification level, geographic residence, age, and sex in order to better explain the state of English and Afrikaans among the various groups of Blacks. (SW)

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A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY

*english and afrikaans amongst
blacks in the rsa*

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ERRATA

1. Page 1, 2nd paragraph, ninth line: Read "after" after 1975.
2. Page 3, seventh line: Read "54 years" instead of 45.
3. Page 4, 1st paragraph, second line: Read "sample" instead of smaple.
4. Page 14, Figure 2.2: "READ" and "WRITE" must be interchanged.
5. Page 15, second paragraph, sixth line: Read "there" instead of three.
6. Page 21, Table 2.7, 23(b): Read "Language listened to 2nd most often on the radio".
7. Page 22, 2nd paragraph, seventh line: Read " ... although radios are to be found far and wide ..."
8. Page 32, third paragraph, third line: Read "usually" instead of usual.
9. Page 33, second paragraph, second line: Read "periodicals".
10. Page 38, second paragraph, sixteenth line: Read "shopkeepers".
11. Page 56, second paragraph, tenth line: Read "the" instead of teh.
12. Page 56, last line: Read "phenomenon" instead of pehnomenon.
13. Page 58, Table 2.15: next to minimum difference - Eng : Afr :
Insert 6,3 (urban), 5,7 (rural), 11,2 (urban) and 5,7 (rural).

SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY:

***english and afrikaans amongst
blacks in the rsa***

DIVISION FOR SOCIOLINGUISTICS

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INSTITUTE FOR LANGUAGES, LITERATURE AND ART

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PRETORIA

1979

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P R E F A C E

Since 1970 the Human Sciences Research Council has been involved in a large-scale study of South Africa's multilingual society. Undertaken at the request of the then Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs (now the Minister of National Education), the project consists of a detailed study of language trends, language use and language preferences among all the population groups in the country.

Making use of questionnaires and tape-recorders, the researchers of the Division for Sociolinguistics is seeking to obtain and analyse relevant data concerning language patterns in South Africa. The first survey was undertaken in 1973-1974 among Whites in the RSA and numerous studies have since been based on the material from the data-bank and sound archives which resulted. A series of four official reports on language attitudes, entitled Language Loyalty in South Africa, was also published by the HSRC.

The second survey was undertaken in 1975, when 3 653 Blacks were interviewed, using a representative sample taken from all the urban and rural areas of the country. This material has also been processed by various researchers and students, working in collaboration with the HSRC. The present report, A Multilingual Society, describes this 1975 survey and provides an analysis of language trends and attitudes among the Blacks in the RSA. A particular focal point is the use of Afrikaans and English by the various peoples.

A similar study of trends and attitudes was undertaken in South West Africa in 1976, while another is currently being planned among the Coloured and Malayan population of the RSA. Fieldwork for the latter will be undertaken during March - June 1979.

A. M. Azar
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S U M M A R Y

During the second half of 1975 a sociolinguistic survey was conducted among all the ethnic groups of the South African Black population. The sample was made up of 3 653 Black people between the ages of 15 and 54 from the urban and rural areas of all the provinces and all the homelands of the RSA.

From this survey it appears that proficiency in English is relatively strongly focussed on the reading and writing skills, whereas the proficiency in Afrikaans, although approximately equal to that of English, is relatively strongly focussed on the comprehension and oral skills. English is used more often than Afrikaans for reading and writing, whereas Afrikaans is used more often than English in communication with Whites at work. This survey also indicates that the popularity of English as the medium of instruction at school, for example, is much higher than Afrikaans, but that Afrikaans, because of practical considerations, is not ignored by the Black people. For instance, they would like to have it as a language subject at school. The above mentioned trends in favour of English are especially demonstrable among the more highly qualified (Std 3 and higher) and also among the urban Blacks. Among the lower qualified and rural Blacks Afrikaans plays an important role, especially in contact with Whites.

The best possible explanation for the above is that English is more a language of prestige for the Black population, whereas Afrikaans has a more pragmatic value.

CHAPTER 1

A NATIONAL LANGUAGE INVESTIGATION AMONGST BLACKS IN THE RSA

"An alarm bell for the Afrikaner is ringing in Soweto" were the words of a report in Die Vaderland of 25 July 1972, after a language incident involving Afrikaans. However, according to Rapport of 27 October 1972, Chief Buthelezi stated that: "the future of Afrikaans in our schools is forever assured. Although English will be the medium of instruction in our schools as from 1974, I want the children of KwaZulu to have a thorough knowledge of Afrikaans. It will be a subject in our schools from the start."

Statements like these, and other experiences, make one wonder what the actual situation is regarding the position of English and Afrikaans amongst Blacks in the RSA. This problem has long been perceived, since in 1968 the then Minister of National Education, Jan de Klerk, requested the HSRC to institute an investigation into the situation as regards the two official languages, English and Afrikaans. The Division for Sociolinguistics of the HSRC's Institute for Languages, Literature and Art embarked upon this investigation in 1970. In 1975, a number of preliminary investigations and an enquiry into the situation amongst Whites, a start was made with the investigation into the situation amongst Blacks. After studying the situation it was decided that two investigations should be launched, one amongst the Blacks in the RSA and one amongst the population groups of South-West Africa (SWA). The field-work for the investigation in the RSA was completed during December 1975, i.e. before the riots in Soweto began. The field-work for the language investigation in SWA was concluded at the end of July 1976.

1.1 THE AIM OF THIS REPORT

If a full description of the position of English and Afrikaans amongst Blacks is to be given, the situation as regards the various South African Bantu languages must also be taken into account. Consequently the questionnaire used contained questions not only on English and Afrikaans, but also on Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, et cetera, and even on Fanakalo and the so-called Tsotsi language. The questionnaire elicited information on -

- (a) the ability to understand, speak, read and write the various languages;
- (b) the different spheres in which the languages are used (family, neighbourhood, work, school, church, radio, newspapers et cetera);
- (c) the attitudes towards the various languages and language groups;
- (d) the biographical particulars of the informant: Sex, age, residence, schooling and so on.

To supplement the questionnaire, tape recordings were also made of all the languages that each informant could speak.

The data collected are so numerous that a series of reports is planned. The aim of this report is to describe a number of basic aspects concerning the state of English and Afrikaans, as reflected in the answers to the questionnaire. The aspects reported on are -

- (a) the knowledge of English and Afrikaans;
- (b) the use of English and Afrikaans in different spheres;
- (c) preference for English and Afrikaans;

- (d) the connection between some biographical characteristics and the state of English and Afrikaans.

1.2 THE SAMPLE

The current report is based on the replies of 3653 respondents. A study of the 3653 questionnaires revealed that the sample is representative of South African Blacks between the ages of 15 and 45 years in respect of -

- (a) sex: men and women;
- (b) geographical distribution: all the provinces and all the homelands in the RSA, urban and rural areas;
- (c) ethnic composition: all ethnic groups (Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, et cetera) excluding the so-called 'Foreign Blacks', i.e. the Blacks in the RSA born in Malawi, Rhodesia or other places outside the RSA.

When the qualification structure of the respondents is compared with that of the target group in 1975, it appears that there are too few unqualified persons in the sample and too many with higher qualifications - particularly in the group of Std 8 and above.

TABLE 1.1

QUALIFICATION STRUCTURE OF THE TARGET GROUP IN 1975
AND THE SAMPLE IN 1975

LEVEL OF QUALIFICATION	TARGET GROUP - 1975		SAMPLE - 1975	
	n	%	n	%
No qualification	3 269 025	36,8	909	24,9
Sub A - Std 2	1 563 447	17,6	593	16,2
Std 3 - Std 7	3 615 470	40,7	1 591	43,6
Std 8 and higher	435 278	4,9	560	15,3
TOTAL	8 883 220	100,0	3 653	100,0

The greater number of persons with higher qualifications in the sample does not detract from the usefulness of the findings, however, for the following reasons:

- (a) the projection for 1975 used above, is probably too conservative. Twelve comma four seven per cent of the population was at school in 1960 and 17,27 per cent in 1970, an increase of 4,8 per cent. However, the increase up to 1975 is not 2,4 per cent, as a rectilinear projection would make it, but 3,16 per cent, since at least 20,43 per cent of the population was at school in 1975.* The actual difference is thus probably considerably smaller.
- (b) It is an advantage rather than a disadvantage that the sample is weighted in the same direction

*Department of Bantu Education: Annual Report 1975, p.130

that the population is developing. The findings might therefore still be valid for 1980, for example.

- (c) The greater number of persons with higher qualifications does not obscure the trends apparent from the investigation. In Question 29(c) for example, the percentage for Afrikaans remains slightly higher than for English. In Questions 38(a) and 49(c) the percentages for English are still far higher than those for Afrikaans.
- (d) The persons with higher qualifications have a greater influence on the development of the RSA than the persons with lower qualifications. According to the 1970 census, more persons with higher qualifications than with lower ones are economically active. Persons with higher qualifications also set the tone to a greater degree, as is apparent for example from the fact that those with lower qualifications - although they have a better knowledge of Afrikaans than of English and use the former more often - nevertheless follow the example of those with higher qualifications and give preference to English as a medium of instruction at school (Question 49).

On the strength of the above-mentioned considerations, the qualification structure of the sample is regarded, for the purposes of this report, as being representative of the qualification structure of South African Blacks between the ages of 15 and 54.

1.3 GENERALIZATION OF THE RESULTS AS APPLIED TO THE WHOLE POPULATION

The percentages supplied by this sample cannot be summarily applied to the population (South African Blacks between the ages of 15 and 54). One must leave room for small deviations which could possibly arise as a result of fortuitous factors such as sample differences. When two percentages are compared the size of the difference must at least be equal to the sum of the deviations of these two percentages before it can be said that there is also a difference in the population. The sum of the deviations of the two percentages (minimum difference) can be statistically calculated. For the purposes of this study the following minimum differences were made a requirement for extending the applicability of the findings to the entire Black population.

TABLE 1.2
THE MINIMUM DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO
PERCENTAGES AT THE 5 PER CENT CERTAINTY LEVEL

Samples	N	Minimum difference
Total sample	3653	3,2
Persons with higher qualifications	2151	4,2
Persons with lower qualifications	1502	5,1
Urban Blacks	1262	5,5
Rural Blacks	2391	4,0
Youngsters	1799	4,6
The middle-aged	1854	4,6
Men	1705	4,8
Women	1948	4,4
Urban Blacks with higher qualifications	956	6,3
Rural Blacks with higher qualifications	1195	5,7
Urban Blacks with lower qualifications	306	11,2
Rural Blacks with lower qualifications	1196	5,7

Suppose the percentage of men who prefer English is 25,4 and those who prefer Afrikaans is 21,3, then the difference between these two percentages is smaller than the required 4,8 per cent, i.e. this cannot be taken to constitute a difference in the population as a whole. However, if the percentage for English is 25,4 and for Afrikaans 20,3 then, from a statistical point of view one can indeed assume a difference in the population as a whole.

1.4 THE INTERPRETATION OF THE TABLES

To facilitate the interpretation of the tables in this report, diacritics are placed next to the percentages for English and Afrikaans only, and only next to the larger percentage of the two. A plus sign (+) means that the percentage concerned is slightly larger than the other percentage with which it is being compared, but that this is less than the required minimum difference. In other words, the difference between the percentages is possibly not statistically significant. One star (*) next to a percentage means that it is larger than the other percentage with which it is being compared and that this percentage is so much larger that there is more than the required minimum difference, but that the difference is not more than 12,5 per cent. In other words, there is a statistically significant difference between the two percentages. Two stars (**) next to a percentage means that the difference is at least 12,6 per cent and at most 25,0 per cent, i.e. there is a great difference between the two percentages. Three stars (***) next to a percentage means that the percentage concerned is at least 25,1 per cent greater than the other percentage. In other words, there is a very large difference between the two percentages. To summarize:

- + = the difference is smaller than the required minimum difference (it is a small difference which possibly does not apply to the population).

- * = the difference is equal to or larger than the minimum difference, up to 12,5 per cent (there is a difference and this difference also occurs in the population with at least 95 per cent certainty).
- ** = the difference is 12,6 per cent to 25,0 per cent (it is a large difference which also occurs in the population).
- *** = the difference is 25,1 per cent or more (it is a very great difference in the sample and in the population).

CHAPTER 2

THE KNOWLEDGE OF AFRIKAANS AND ENGLISH

Amongst other things, each respondent was asked to indicate on a scale how well he/she can understand, speak, read and write English and Afrikaans. The points on the six-point scale used were: Very well, fairly well, acceptably, rather weakly, very weakly, not at all. In the discussion which follows, this scale has been simplified to a three-point scale: satisfactorily = very well + fairly well + acceptably; poorly = rather weakly + very weakly; not at all = not at all. In order to be able to calculate an average value, the following values were attributed to this three-point scale: Acceptable = 2, poor = 1, not at all = 0 and no answer (only a few respondents) = 0. Then all these values were added, divided by the number of respondents and multiplied by 50 to express the total as an average score out of 100.

2.1 ABILITY TO UNDERSTAND ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS*

According to the answers to Question 14: 'How well do you understand English/Afrikaans?' the number of respondents whose comprehension of Afrikaans is acceptable and those whose comprehension is poor is equal to the number of respondents whose comprehension of English is acceptable and poor respectively. The difference between the average scores for Afrikaans and English is also therefore so small that it can be ignored.

*By understand one means the person's ability to listen to and comprehend spoken language.

TABLE 2.1
ABILITY TO UNDERSTAND ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

Scale		Afrikaans		English	
Description	Value	N	%	N	%
Acceptable	2	1359	36,7	1403	38,4 ⁺
Poor	1	998	27,3 ⁺	909	24,9
Not at all	0	1311	35,9	1329	36,4 ⁺
No answer	0	5	0,1	12	0,3
AVERAGE SCORE		1,01 x 50 = 50,5		1,02 x 50 = 51 ⁺	

2.2 ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

The respondents' ability to speak English, according to their own evaluation, is a little better than their ability to speak Afrikaans. This is apparent from the answers to Question 13. 'How well can you speak Afrikaans/English?':

TABLE 2.2
ABILITY TO SPEAK ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

Scale		English		Afrikaans	
Description	Value	N	%	N	%
Acceptable	2	1070	29,3	1210	33,1 ⁺
Poor	1	985	27,0 ⁺	868	23,8
Not at all	0	1594	43,6 ⁺	1565	42,8
No answer	0	4	0,1	10	0,3
AVERAGE SCORE		0,86 x 50 = 43		0,90 x 50 = 45 ⁺	

The difference between the averages for Afrikaans and English is

so insignificant however, that it is difficult to generalize this difference for the entire Black population of the RSA between the ages of 15 and 54.

2.3 ABILITY TO READ ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

The respondents' ability to read English is better than their ability to read Afrikaans. They answered Question 36 'How well can you read printed matter in English/Afrikaans?' as follows:

TABLE 2.3
ABILITY TO READ ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

Scale	English			Afrikaans	
Description	Value	N	%	N	%
Acceptable	2	1111	30,4	1391	38,1*
Poor	1	793	21,7*	766	21,0
Not at all	0	1732	47,4*	1476	40,4
No answer	0	17	0,5	20	0,5
AVERAGE SCORE	0,83 x 50 = 41,5 0,97 x 50 = 48,5*				

It appears from Table 2.3 that there are more respondents who can read English in an acceptable fashion than those who can read Afrikaans acceptably, but that there are equal numbers who read English and Afrikaans poorly. The average score for English is thus higher than for Afrikaans (48,5* and 41,5 respectively out of a possible 100).

2.4 ABILITY TO WRITE ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

As in the case of reading, the respondents' ability to write English is better than their ability to write Afrikaans. This is demonstrated by the answers to Question 42: 'How well do you

think will you be able to write a letter in English/Afrikaans?':

TABLE 2.4

ABILITY TO WRITE ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

Scale		English		Afrikaans	
Description	Value	N	%	N	%
Acceptable	2	881	24,1	1242	34,0*
Poor	1	697	19,1	702	19,2*
Not at all	0	2050	56,1*	1679	46,0
No answer	0	25	0,7	30	0,8
AVERAGE SCORE		0,67 x 50 = 33,5		0,87 x 50 = 43,5*	

This table shows that there are 9,9 per cent more respondents who can write English in an acceptable manner than those who can write Afrikaans in an acceptable manner. In the 'poor' category the percentages for English and Afrikaans are practically the same. The respondents who cannot write Afrikaans at all are also more numerous than those who cannot write English. The average score for English is therefore higher than the average score for Afrikaans (43,5*, as opposed to 33,5 out of a possible 100).

2.5 COMPARISON OF THE FOUR LANGUAGE SKILLS

The scores out of 100 for English and Afrikaans in the four aspects of language were as follows:

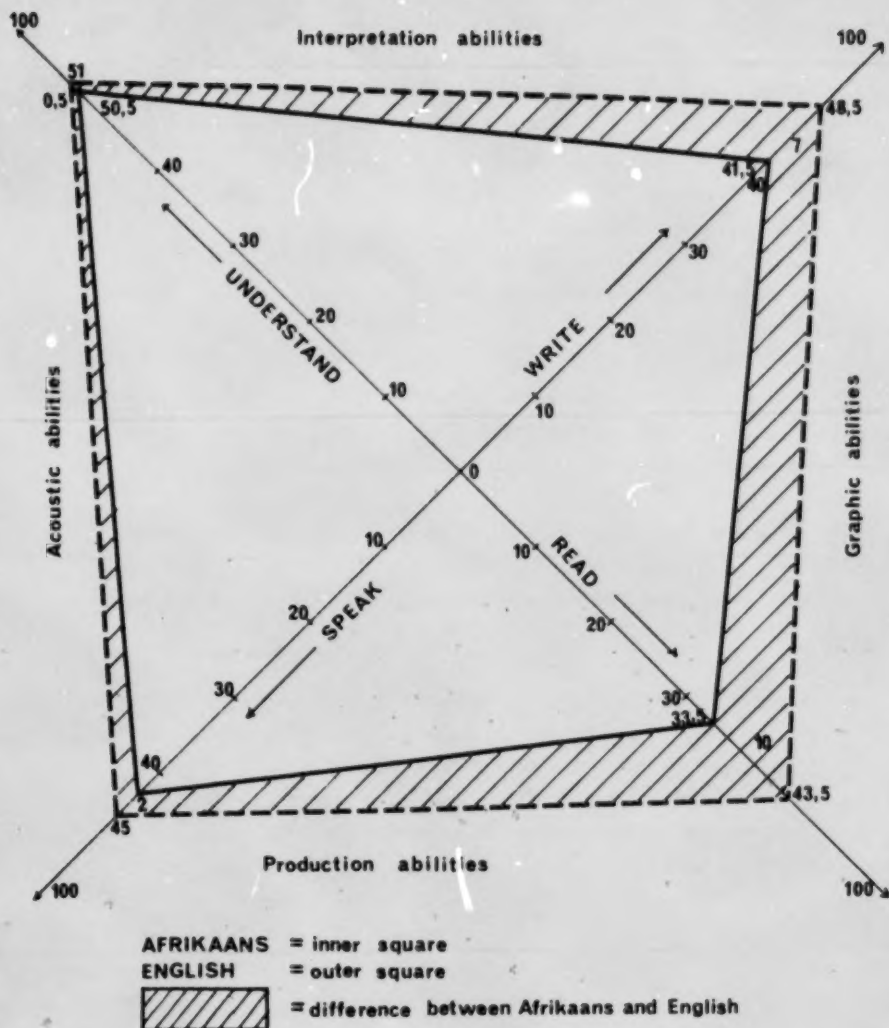
Aspect	English	Afrikaans	Difference
Understanding	51,0	50,5	0,5
Speaking	45,0	43,5	2,0
Reading	48,5	41,5	7,0*
Writing	43,5	33,5	10,0

When the same value is allocated to each of the four levels, the average for English is 47* and the average for Afrikaans 42.

It is also possible to show the knowledge of English and Afrikaans in the form of a graph. With a view to the comparison of the four language skills it is probably better to use a square in which each corner represents one of the four language skills, as in Figure 2.2, than to use a line with four points as in Figure 2.1. The central point of the square (= the dividing line of the diagonal lines from the corners) signifies a value of 0 out of 100. The further a corner is away from the centre point, the greater is the average score attained by all the respondents for the skill concerned. For example, if all the respondents could speak Afrikaans in an acceptable manner, the speech corner would be 100 graphic units away from the centre point, along the diagonal line. When such squares are drawn for English and Afrikaans and the two squares are placed one on top of the other, the difference in surfaces represents the difference between English and Afrikaans. Examine the language square on the next page.

The four language skills were given equal value in the calculation of the average score for English and Afrikaans. This implies that any skill can be compared with any other skill. However, in the scientific literature on the subject, understanding and speaking are usually grouped together as the basic or primary or acoustic language skills (communication takes place by means of sound waves). Reading and writing on the other hand are known as the secondary or graphic skills (communication takes place by means of graphic signs). Another valid arrangement is to refer to the speaking and writing skills as the expressive or active or productive skills. In contrast understanding and reading are the receptive or passive or interpretative skills. Compare:

FIGURE 2.2
THE LANGUAGE SQUARE FOR AFRIKAANS AND ENGLISH



	Interpretation	Production
Acoustic	Understanding	Speaking
Graphic	Reading	Writing

In the discussion above understanding and writing were not compared with each other, neither were speaking and reading compared with each other. The reason for this is that there are no common factors discernible between understanding and writing and between speaking and reading as those indicated above between understanding and reading, (interpretative skills), between speaking and writing (productive skills), between understanding and speaking (acoustic skills) and between reading and writing (graphic skills). In terms of the language square this means that the comparison of opposite corners is of a different nature and less meaningful than the comparison of corners lying next to each other. The comparison of opposite corners is therefore not discussed any further.

The most striking difference between the language square for English and that for Afrikaans is that the knowledge of English is better on the graphic level than the knowledge of Afrikaans on the graphic level. Reading and writing are skills which are normally learned at school. The answers to Question 34 revealed that three were more respondents who had studied English at school than those who had studied Afrikaans.

FIGURE 2.1
KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

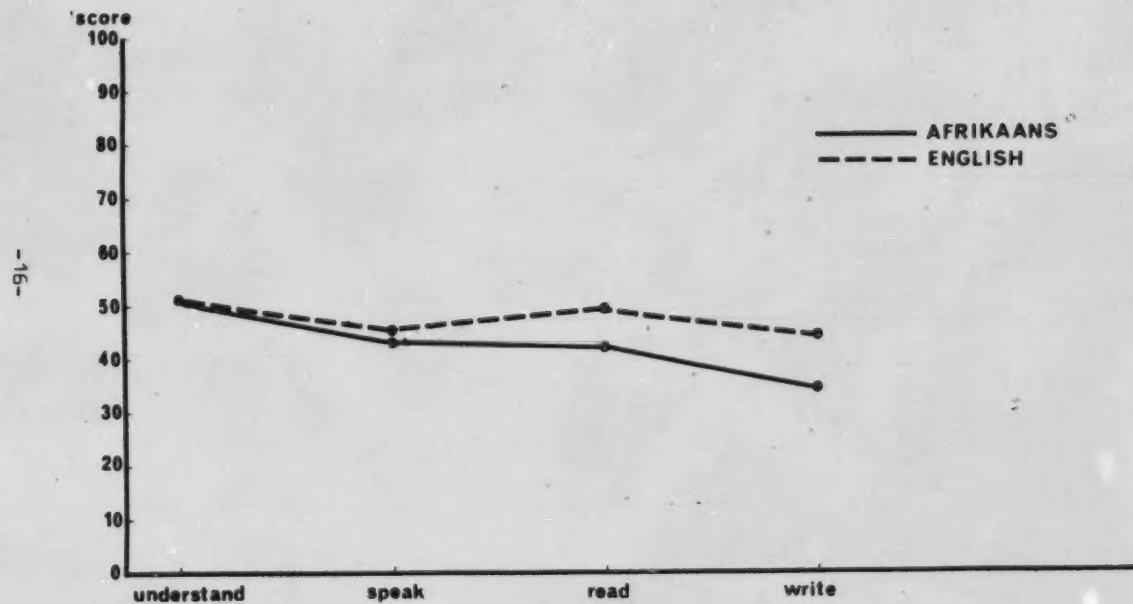


TABLE 2.5
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO STUDIED ENGLISH OR AFRIKAANS
AT SCHOOL

School level	English		Afrikaans	
	N	%	N	%
In the lower primary school	2038	56,3**	1587	43,4
In the higher primary school	1930	52,8*	1556	42,6
In the secondary school	919	25,2*	787	27,5

Another important difference between the language squares is that the preponderance of the acoustic knowledge over the graphic knowledge is far greater in the case of Afrikaans than of English. The top and bottom sides of the square for English are nearly horizontal, whereas they are definitely slanted for Afrikaans. Compare:

	English	Afrikaans
Difference between understanding and reading	2,5	9
Difference between speaking and writing	1,5	9,5

It would seem as if English is relatively strong in the graphic skills (reading and writing) whereas Afrikaans, although approximately equal to or perhaps a little weaker than English, is relatively strong in the acoustic skills (understanding and speaking). The graphic skills are related to indirect communication and imply relatively greater learning and prestige, whereas the acoustic skills relate to direct communication and everyday practice. This means that it is also desirable to investigate the use of English and Afrikaans in different spheres of communication.

CHAPTER 3

THE USE OF ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

In this sociolinguistic investigation various questions were asked on the use of English and Afrikaans and the Bantu languages on the acoustic and graphic levels. On the acoustic level, questions were asked concerning the language usage between Blacks and Whites. On the graphic level, questions were asked about the language in which newspapers, periodicals and the Bible are read and about the language in which Blacks write letters.

3.1 ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS AMONGST THE BLACKS THEMSELVES

The use of English and Afrikaans as a first language amongst Blacks themselves is minimal, and the difference between the percentages for English and Afrikaans is so small that it is mostly insignificant. Compare the answers to the following questions in Table 2.6 and Figure 2.6:

TABLE 2.6

THE FIRST LANGUAGE SPOKEN AND LISTENED TO AMONGST BLACKS THEMSELVES

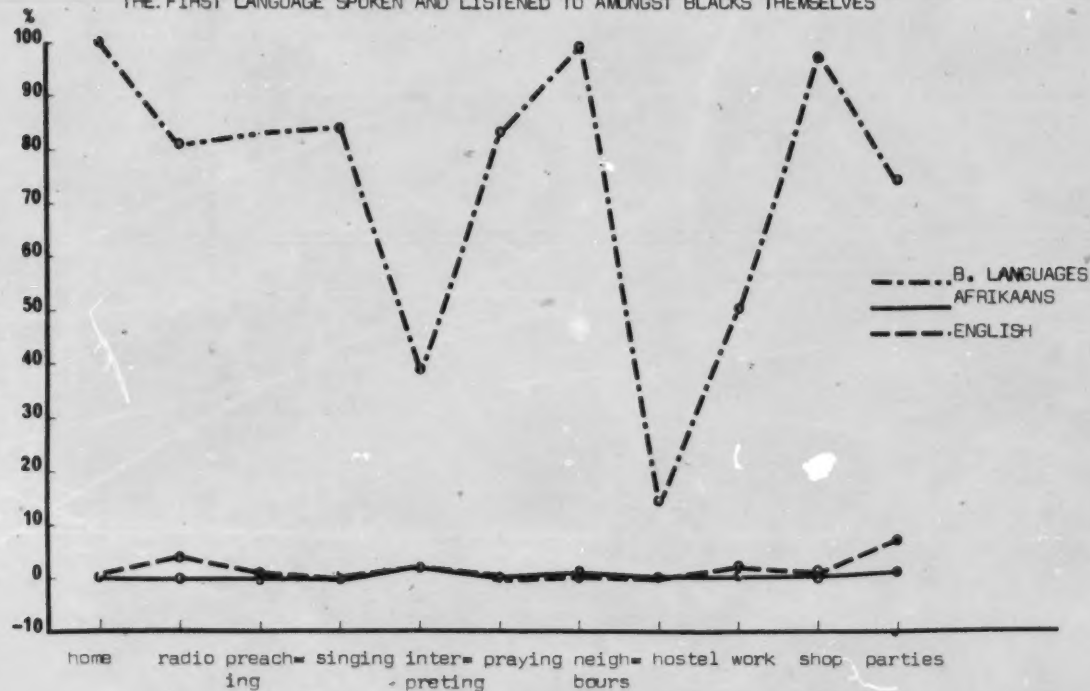
Question number	Content of question	Eng-lish	Afri-kaans	Bantu languages	N.a.*	Total
18(a)	Language usually spoken at home	0,1	0,4 ⁺	99,5	-	100,0
23(a)	Language usually listened to on the radio	3,6*	0,3	81,2	14,9	100,0
26(a)	Language in which minister usually preaches	1,2 ⁺	0,4	83,1	15,4	100,0

Question number	Content of question	Eng=	Afri=	Bantu	N.a.*	Total
		lish	kaans	languages		
26(b)	Language in which congregation usually sings	0,4 ⁺	0,1	83,8	15,7	100,0
26(c)	Language in which sermon is usually interpreted	2,4 ⁺	2,3	39,2	56,1	100,0
26(d)	Language usually used in prayer	0,4 ⁺	0,3	83,0	16,3	100,0
27(a)	Language usually spoken when talking to neighbours	0,2	0,5 ⁺	98,5	0,8	100,0
27(c)	Language usually spoken in hostel	0,1	0,2 ⁺	14,0	85,7	100,0
28(c)	Language usually spoken to Blacks at work	1,7 ⁺	0,4	49,6	48,3	100,0
29(c)	Language usually spoken to Black shopkeepers	0,5 ⁺	0,3	97,0	2,2	100,0
30(c)	Language usually spoken at parties	6,5*	0,9	73,5	19,1	100,0

*In N.a. (Not applicable), apart from the percentage for the respondents to whom the question was not applicable, is also included the percentage for the respondents who did not answer the question, as well as the percentage for the respondents who said that they used Fanakalo, Tsotsi Language or another language in these circumstances.

FIGURE 2.6

THE FIRST LANGUAGE SPOKEN AND LISTENED TO AMONGST BLACKS THEMSELVES



Although the differences are small, it is nevertheless striking that the percentage for English is in most cases slightly bigger than the percentage for Afrikaans. In the case of the language usually listened to on the radio, the difference is 3,3* per cent in favour of English. A great deal more English than Afrikaans is spoken at parties (6,5 per cent as apposed to 0,9* per cent respectively). Celebrating is a social matter with which Blacks associate prestige and status.

The tendency for English to be used more often than Afrikaans as a means of communication amongst Blacks in certain instances (particularly the radio and parties) is underlined in the questions dealing with the language used second most often in the different spheres. As regards the second language however, there is not only an increase in the use of English, but also an increase in the use of Afrikaans at the expense of the Bantu languages. Compare Table 2.7:

TABLE 2.7
THE SECOND LANGUAGE SPOKEN AND LISTENED TO
AMONGST BLACKS THEMSELVES

Question number	Content of question	English	Afrikaans	Bantu languages	N.a.	Total
18(b)	Language spoken 2nd most often at home	7,2*	3,4	22,7	66,7	100,0
23(b)	Language listened to 2nd most often on the	18,3**	3,1	30,0	48,6	100,0
27(b)	Language spoken 2nd most often when conversing with neighbours	3,8*	2,6	30,1	63,5	100,0

Table 2.7 (continued)

Question number	Content of question	English	Afrikaans	Bantu languages	N.a.	Total
27(d)	Language spoken 2nd most often in hostel	0,9*	0,7	4,8	93,6	100,0
28(d)	Language spoken 2nd most often to Blacks at work	6,0*	2,9	18,3	72,8	100,0
29(b)	Language spoken 2nd most often to Black shopkeepers	7,8*	2,4	25,7	64,1	100,0
30(d)	Language spoken 2nd most often at parties	12,1*	4,7	20,6	62,6	100,0

The striking thing in this table is that no fewer than 18,3 per cent of the respondents indicated English radio programmes as their second choice. Together with the 3,3 per cent who usually listen to English, this means that 21,6 per cent of the respondents apparently listen to English broadcasts if they are not listening to Radio Bantu. The percentage for Afrikaans is 3,4 per cent.

This is a big difference. In explaining this one should remember that the radio is a one-way medium of communication. The listener does not have to reply and does not have to understand everything that is said. Furthermore, one must bear in mind that possessing and listening to a radio has a certain prestige value amongst Blacks. A radio is not essential for the satisfaction of the primary needs of life and although radio's are to be found far wide amongst Blacks, there are considerably more educated than uneducated Blacks and more urban than rural ones who listen to the radio. This is apparent from the analysis of Question 23(a):

25,3 per cent of the unqualified persons or persons with low qualifications do not listen to the radio, as opposed to 7,4 per cent of the persons with higher qualifications who do not, and 18,2 per cent of the rural Blacks as opposed to 8,2 per cent of the urban Blacks who do not listen to the radio. Finally, it is important to remember that if Blacks are listening to English or Afrikaans radio programmes, this is not really communication amongst Blacks themselves, but rather communication between Blacks and Whites.

3.2 ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES

Blacks and Whites mostly communicate with each other at work and in trade. Under these circumstances English and Afrikaans naturally fulfil a far larger role and are far more often used in these circumstances than amongst Blacks themselves. This is apparent from Table 2.8 and Figure 2.8:

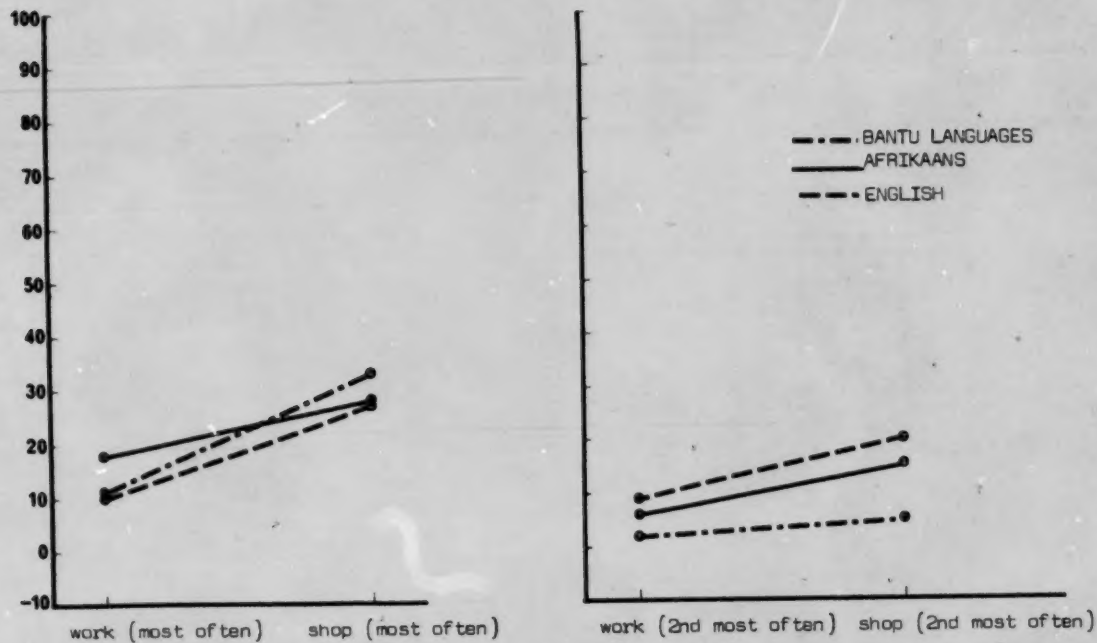
The striking thing in these data is that the number of Blacks who usually speak Afrikaans to the Whites at work, is more than the number of Blacks who usually speak English at work. The Blacks who usually speak Afrikaans to White shopkeepers are just as numerous as those who use English. This tendency for Afrikaans to be used more often or just as often as English when speaking to Whites is not, however, carried over to the language spoken second most often to the Whites. As in the case of the second language used amongst Blacks themselves, there is also a limited tendency for English to be used more often than Afrikaans in the second language spoken by Blacks to Whites.

TABLE 2.8

THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH BLACKS AND WHITES SPEAK TO EACH
OTHER

Question number	Content of question	Eng-lish	Afri-kaans	Bantu lan- guages	N.a.	Total
28(c)	Language usually spoken to Whites at work	10,4	18,0*	10,9	60,7	100,0
29(c)	Language usually spoken to White shopkeepers	27,2	28,3*	33,0	11,5	100,0
28(d)	Language spoken 2nd most often to Whites at work	8,6*	5,7	2,3	83,4	100,0
29(d)	Language spoken 2nd most often to White shopkeepers	20,0*	15,4	5,2	59,4	100,0

FIGURE 2.8
THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH BLACKS AND WHITES SPEAK TO EACH OTHER



The number of respondents who said in answer to these questions that they speak a Bantu language to Whites, is ostensibly very large. However, it should be remembered that the question was: 'Which language do you usually/second most often speak to Whites at work/in shops?' The question was not: 'What language does the White employer/shopkeeper speak to you?' In a definitely circumscribed situation, together with gestures and a mutual desire to understand each other, communication between a Bantu language-speaking client/employee and an English or Afrikaans-speaking shopkeeper/employer is quite possible. Moreover, the number of shopkeepers and for example, farmers who can speak a number of words and sentences in one or another Bantu language, should not be underestimated.

3.3 THE USE OF ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS AT THE GRAPHIC LEVEL

English and Afrikaans, but particularly the former, are often used at the graphic level (reading and writing). As regards the language usually used in reading or writing, the percentage is much higher for English than for Afrikaans.

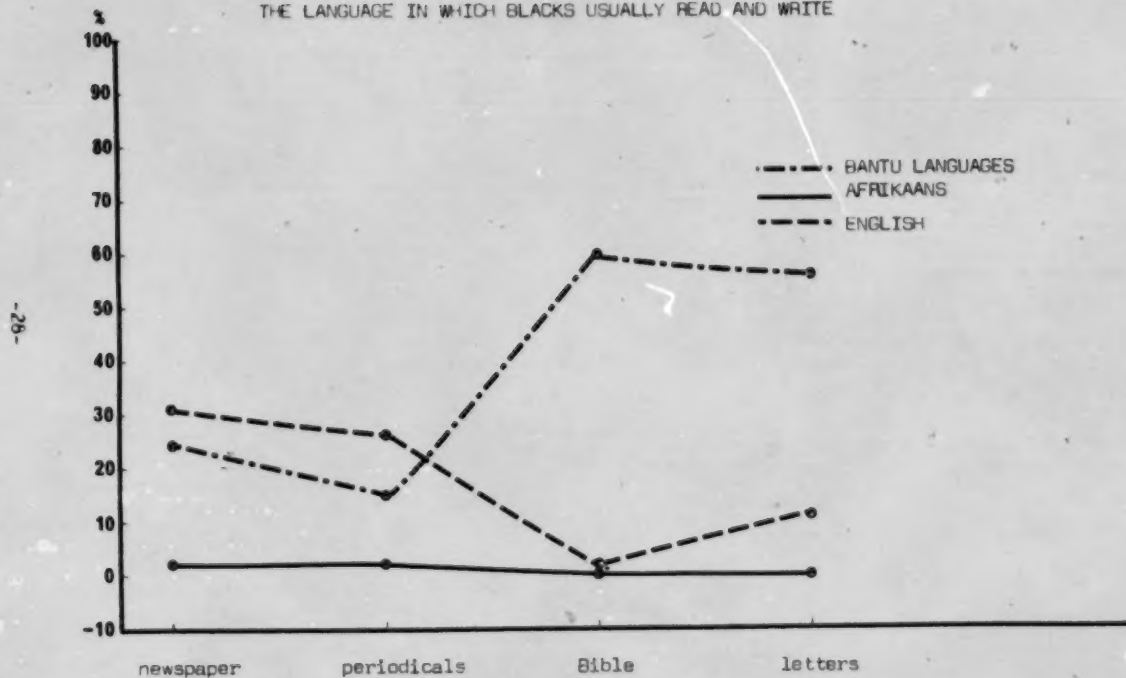
TABLE 2.9

THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH BLACKS USUALLY READ AND WRITE

Question number	Content of question	English	Afrikaans	Bantu languages	N.a.	Total
38(a)	Language in which newspapers are usually read	31,1***	1,5	24,3	43,1	100,0
39(c)	Language in which periodicals are usually read	26,2**	1,6	14,8	57,4	100,0
38(e)	Language in which the Bible is usually read	1,9*	0,4	59,6	38,1	100,0
41(a)	Language in which letters are usually written	11,2*	0,3	55,8	32,7	100,0

FIGURE 2.9

THE LANGUAGE IN WHICH BLACKS USUALLY READ AND WRITE



An important factor emerging from the above-mentioned data is that the percentage of Blacks who read newspapers and periodicals in English, is even greater than the percentage who read newspapers and periodicals in the Bantu languages. One of the possible explanations for this is that newspapers and periodicals are not available in all the Bantu languages. In contrast, the percentage of Blacks who read the Bible in English and write letters in English, is far smaller than the percentage who use Bantu languages for these purposes - apparently because the Bible is available in all Bantu languages and Blacks have a much larger say in the choice of the language in which they write letters.

Preference for English above Afrikaans is clearly apparent from the fact that as many as 11,2* per cent write their letters in English, as opposed to the fewer than one per cent who use Afrikaans for this purpose. Letters in English are not only written to the radio, business people, newspapers, periodicals and other bodies, but also to family and friends. This is apparent from the answers to Question 40(a): Only 3,6 per cent of the respondents usually write letters to the radio, business people, newspapers, periodicals et cetera; 61,5 per cent usually write to family or friends and 34,9 per cent do not write letters.

English and Afrikaans are used about equally and perhaps a little less than the Bantu languages when it comes to the language in which newspapers and periodicals are second most often read. However, as regards the language second most often used for writing letters, the use of English is far more widespread than that of Afrikaans. This is indicated in Table and Figure 2.10:

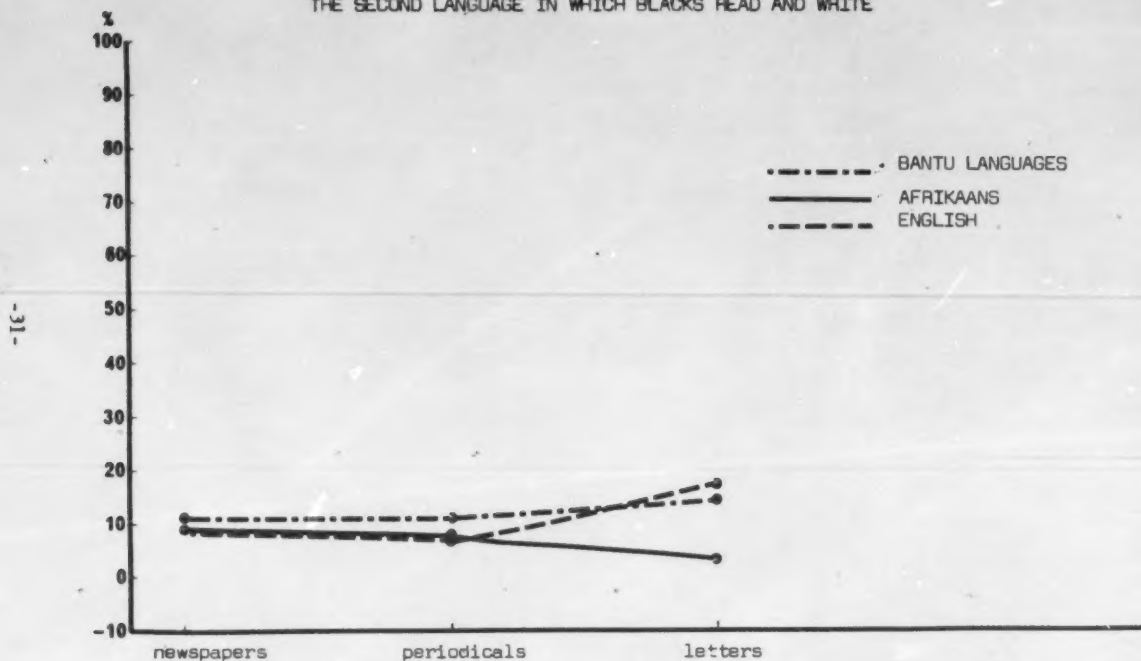
TABLE 2.10

THE SECOND LANGUAGE IN WHICH BLACKS READ AND WRITE

Question number	Content of Question	English	Afrikaans	Bantu Languages	N.a.	Total
38(b)	Language in which newspapers are second most often read	9,0	9,2 ⁺	11,3	70,5	100,0
38(d)	Language in which periodicals are second most often read	6,6	7,6 ⁺	11,2	74,6	100,0
41(b)	Language in which letters are second most often written	17,0**	3,0	14,3	65,7	100,0

FIGURE 2.10

THE SECOND LANGUAGE IN WHICH BLACKS READ AND WRITE



3.4 COMPARISON OF LANGUAGE USAGE AT THE ACOUSTIC AND GRAPHIC LEVELS

A distinction is drawn above between the language usually used at the graphic and acoustic levels and the language second most often used at these levels.

Afrikaans is more often used than English in some cases when it comes to the language usually used at the acoustic level, for example at work with Whites. In other cases it is used just as often as English (for example to White shopkeepers) and in some cases less often than English (for example in respect of the radio or parties). However, on the whole English is used more widely than Afrikaans in respect of the language second most often spoken.

At the graphic level the position is reversed. English is used far more often than Afrikaans when it comes to the language usual used in reading or writing. English is used about as much as Afrikaans when it comes to the language second most often used for reading and writing (for example in reading newspapers) in other cases English is used more often than Afrikaans (for example in writing letters). Compare:

	Usually	2nd most often
Acoustic (understanding and speaking)	Afr.*; Afr. = Eng:Eng.*	Eng.*
Graphic (reading and writing)	Eng.*	Afr. = Eng: Eng.**

This finding on the use of English and Afrikaans fits in with the finding that the knowledge of English is relatively good in the graphic skills, whereas the knowledge of Afrikaans, although approximately equal to that of English, is relatively good in respect of acoustic skills.

The spheres of communication in which English has a clear preponderance over Afrikaans were the reading of newspapers and periodicals, the writing of letters, attendance at parties and listening to radio programmes. All these spheres can be related, to a greater or lesser extent, to the satisfaction of secondary needs of existence and a greater prestige value. In a developing people the aforementioned are some of the social characteristics that distinguish the developed or progressive people from the undeveloped or traditional ones. In contrast, work with Whites (the sphere in which Afrikaans has a preponderance) and the buying of food and clothing from Whites (the sphere in which English and Afrikaans are equally often used) are related to the satisfaction of primary needs of existence.

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE PREFERENCES IN RESPECT OF ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

It appears from the available data that Blacks prefer English to Afrikaans. However, this preference does not mean that Afrikaans is entirely rejected. For example, the vast majority of Blacks regard Afrikaans as an important school subject for their children.

4.1 PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH

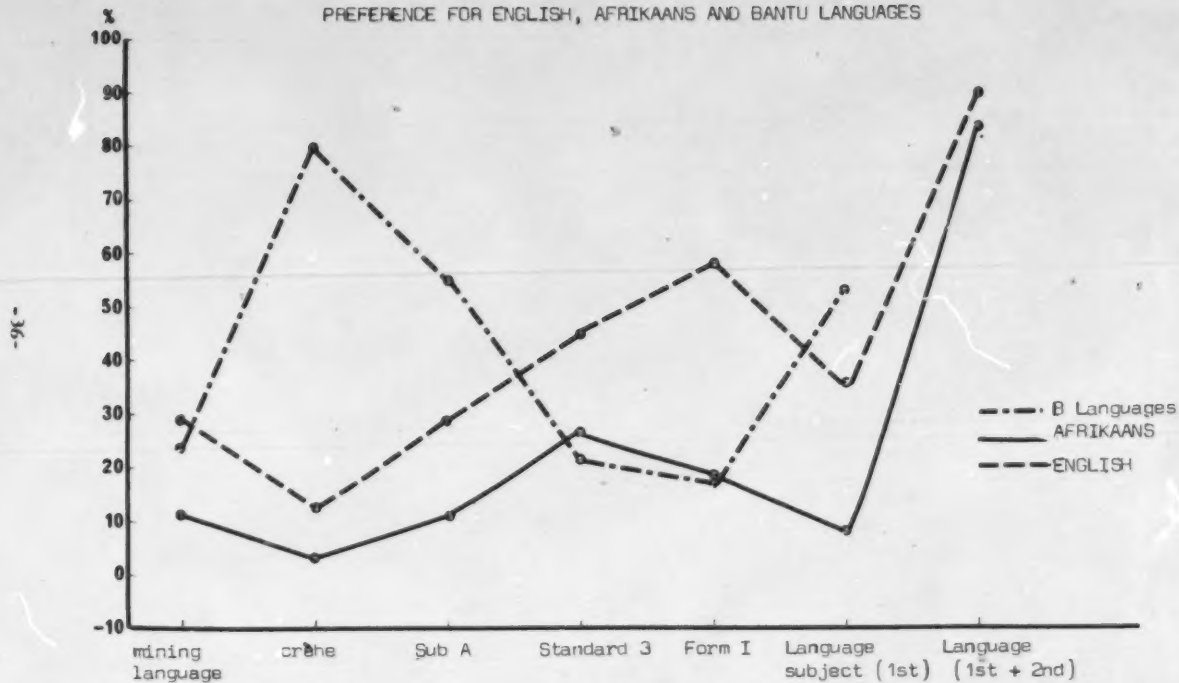
There are seven questions from the answers to which one can perceive the respondents' preference for English, Afrikaans or a Bantu language, namely Question 47 concerning the language the respondent prefers instead of Fanakalo, Questions 49(a)-(d) on the medium of instruction the respondents prefer in various classes, Question 52(a) on the language subject the respondent feels is most important and Question 52(b) on the language subjects he/she feels should also be learned at school. The answers to the questions in Table 2.11 and Figure 2.11 indicate the respondents' preference for English in the circumstances mentioned:

TABLE 2.11
PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH, AFRIKAANS AND BANTU LANGUAGES

Question number	Content of Question	English	Afrikaans	Bantu languages	N.a.	Total
47	Language preferred in place of Fanakalo	29,4**	10,5	22,8	37,3	100,0
49(a)	Medium of instruction preferred for the creche	13,0*	2,7	79,8	4,5	100,0
49(b)	Medium of instruction preferred for Sub B.	29,2**	11,3	54,8	4,7	100,0
49(c)	Medium of instruction preferred for Standard 3	45,1**	27,1	22,1	5,7	100,0
49(d)	Medium of instruction preferred for Form I	57,6***	19,2	16,9	6,3	100,0
52(a)	Most important language subject at school	35,9***	8,4	53,1	2,6	100,0
52(a+b)	Most important plus other important language subjects	90,4*	83,8	-	-	-

FIGURE 2.11

PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH, AFRIKAANS AND BANTU LANGUAGES



Amongst other things this table also shows that the higher the class, the more popular English is and the less popular a Bantu language as the medium of instruction. Blacks thus connect English with learning, whereas the use of the Bantu languages at school is more a case of practical considerations: The teacher must speak the child's language until the child can speak English (or Afrikaans).

4.2 PREFERENCE FOR AFRIKAANS

The data in Table 2.11 also show that the popularity of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction increases up to Standard 3 but declines again in favour of English in Form I. This decline is also very marked in the case of the Bantu languages. Moreover, it is striking that the preference for Afrikaans as the medium of instruction for Standard 3 and Form I is even greater than the preference for the Bantu languages as the medium of instruction in these standards. From this it appears that Blacks attach a certain value to Afrikaans. This preference for Afrikaans is perhaps most clearly illustrated by the answers to Question 52(b): 75,4** per cent regard Afrikaans as an important language subject, whereas 54,5 per cent indicate English in this context. (According to 35,9*** per cent the most important language subject is English and, according to 8,4 per cent, Afrikaans).

4.3 PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

It has already been indicated that the acoustic knowledge of Afrikaans is relatively good and that Afrikaans is the most important spoken language during contact with Whites in the work situation. However, Question 47, which deals with the working language on the mines, shows that Blacks prefer English to Afri-

kaans as a working language. The relatively considerable knowledge of spoken Afrikaans as well as the relatively frequent use of this language in contact with Whites is therefore not because Blacks prefer Afrikaans, but purely for practical reasons. Many Whites speak Afrikaans, therefore he/she must also be able to speak Afrikaans in order to be able to satisfy his/her primary needs of life. This practical bread-and-butter value of Afrikaans is expressed in the interest in Afrikaans as a language subject at school. If the answers to Question 52(a), the most important language subject, and to Question 52(b), other important language subjects, are added together, it would seem that Afrikaans is preferable or acceptable as a school subject to approximately 84 per cent of all the respondents. This percentage is 90 for English, 55 for Zulu, 47 for Xhosa, 34 for Tswana, et cetera, ending up with 17 per cent for Venda.

The preponderance of English over Afrikaans at the graphic level, as regards both knowledge and usage, corresponds to the preference for English, for example as the medium of instruction in schools. The preference for English also corresponds to the answers to the questions on attitudes. Question 50(a) shows that 35,2** per cent of the respondents prefer to work under an English White, 19,6 per cent under an Afrikaans-speaking White, 1,4 per cent under a Coloured, Indian or Portuguese and 39,5 per cent under a Black. Question 52 reveals that 15,5* per cent prefer to live amongst English-speaking Whites; for the Afrikaans-speaking Whites the percentage is 10,9; for the Coloureds, Indians and Portuguese 3,6 altogether and for the Blacks, 63,1. English is therefore clearly the prestige language amongst Blacks. What is more, English does not only have a prestige value for Blacks. In many cases it can also be used to satisfy the primary needs of life; not all White employers and shopkeepers are Afrikaans-speaking, particularly not in areas such as Natal and cities

such as Johannesburg. It is therefore also meaningful to investigate the connection between English and Afrikaans and biographical characteristics such as qualification level, place of residence, et cetera.

CHAPTER 5

ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS AMONGST VARIOUS GROUPS OF BLACKS

The data collected are such that it is possible to discuss the state of English and Afrikaans among various groups of Blacks. The respondents can be classified, for example, on the basis of occupation, income, home language, religious affiliation, et cetera. In order to keep this discussion reasonably brief however, only the most basic biographical characteristics are used for purposes of classification, namely qualification level, domicile, age and sex:

- (a) Qualification level: The more highly qualified are compared with the people with lower qualifications, i.e. the informants with Standard 3 or a higher educational qualification (the literate ones) as opposed to the informants with Standard 2 or a lower or no educational qualification (mainly the illiterate). There are 2 151 or 58,9 per cent of more highly qualified Blacks in the sample and 1 502 or 41,1 per cent of Blacks with lower qualifications.
- (b) Domicile: The urban Blacks are compared with the rural ones, i.e. the respondents who live in the White urban areas (mainly in locations) as opposed to the respondents living in the White rural areas and the homelands. The sample contains 1 262 or 34,5 per cent urban Blacks and 2 391 or 65,5 per cent rural Blacks. The rural Blacks also include 186 informants who live in the urban areas of the homelands.

(c) Age: The younger persons (15-29 years of age) are compared with the middle-aged (30-54). The former number 1 799 or 49,2 per cent and the latter 1 854 or 50,8 per cent of the sample.

(d) Sex: The men (1 705 or 46,7 per cent) are compared with the women (1 948 or 53,3 per cent).

It is possible to compare each of the 43 questions so far discussed with each of the above-mentioned eight characteristics in respect of English and Afrikaans. Since we are only concerned with general trends, only nine questions are involved in these comparisons: Two questions on the knowledge of English and Afrikaans, two questions on the use of English and Afrikaans in communication amongst Blacks themselves, two questions on the use of the languages in communication between Blacks and Whites, one question on usage at the graphic level and two questions on preference for English and Afrikaans. The questions selected and the answers of the various groups of Blacks in respect of English and Afrikaans are summarized in Table 2.12 and in Figures 2.12.1 to 2.12.8 on the subsequent pages.

Table 2.12 is a large one containing numerous data. In order to interpret this table it is essential to compare English and Afrikaans with one another. This is done in Table 2.13 which indicates the difference between English and Afrikaans in the various categories. For example Question 13: Amongst the more highly qualified, the average score for the ability to speak Afrikaans is 56,1 out of a possible 100, while the average score for English is 68,0. The difference is $68,0 - 56,1 = 11,9$ points in favour of English. This difference is greater than the minimum difference of 4,2 and smaller than 12,6, i.e. $E=11,9\%$. Although Table 2.13 reads more easily than Table 2.12, it still

does not clearly indicate the trends which can indeed be perceived. Instead of using the letter A to indicate that the percentage for Afrikaans is larger than for English, it is also possible to colour in the block concerned. The blocks containing an E (= more English than Afrikaans) are not coloured in. In the interests of further simplification the numbers are also omitted and only the asterisks retained. The simplified version is presented in Table 2.14.

In a sense, Tables 2.12 to 2.14 constitute a summary of everything that has been discussed so far. For example, Table 2.14 clearly shows that among most of the groups the ability to read English is better than that for Afrikaans, that newspapers are mainly read in English, that English is preferred to Afrikaans, but that far more Afrikaans than English is spoken to Whites at work. However, the present discussion is concerned with the comparison of the two groups distinguished from each other on the basis of different qualification levels, domiciles, ages or sexes.

TABLE 2.12
ENGLISH AND AFRIKANS ANDRST VARIOUS BLACK GROUPS

Number of question	Contents of question	Level of Education				Residence				Age				Sex			
		Std 3 and higher		Std 2 and lower		Urban		Rural		15-29 yrs		30-54 yrs		Female		Male	
		Afr.	Eng.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr.	Eng.
13	Ability																
	Speaking *	55,1	68,0	23,7	12,0	55,1	61,7	36,3	36,2	46,6	51,7	37,1	38,5	36,9	41,8	49,5	48,7
36	Reading *	53,2	75,7	9,8	9,7	57,7	67,5	32,5	31,2	53,7	56,6	29,2	38,5	37,8	45,5	45,2	52,1
	Use amongst each other																
18(b)	2nd language at home	3,8	12,0	2,8	0,3	4,3	8,7	3,0	6,3	3,3	7,5	3,6	6,8	3,1	6,8	3,8	8,5
23(a)	Radio	0,3	6,0	0,3	0,1	0,4	7,7	0,3	1,2	0,2	3,5	0,4	3,5	0,3	2,7	0,3	5,3
	Use with whites																
28(c)	At work	16,2	16,2	20,5	2,1	20,6	21,9	16,7	4,5	16,3	8,5	19,7	12,3	10,8	7,3	25,5	14,0
29(c)	Shopkeeper	29,5	42,3	26,5	5,6	32,2	47,5	26,2	16,4	29,8	30,6	26,8	23,9	24,1	25,7	33,5	29,0
	Graphic use																
38(a)	Newspaper	2,1	51,1	0,7	2,3	2,2	52,9	1,1	19,5	2,0	36,7	1,0	25,5	1,4	25,0	1,5	36,9
	Preference																
47	In place of Fanekalo	9,7	33,9	11,6	22,5	9,3	36,5	11,1	25,5	9,5	31,5	11,5	27,5	11,3	29,2	9,8	27,3
49(c)	Medium of Instruction	22,6	47,5	33,4	38,5	2,12	49,1	30,2	43,0	25,4	46,2	28,7	44,1	27,4	45,7	25,6	44,5
Minimum difference - Afr. : Eng.		4,2		3,1		5,5		4,0		4,6		4,6		4,8		4,4	

* The calculation which was used for the total number of respondents was also used to calculate the speaking and reading ability of the different groups of respondents.

FIGURE 2.12.1

AFRIKAANS AMONGST BLACKS WITH HIGHER AND LOWER QUALIFICATIONS

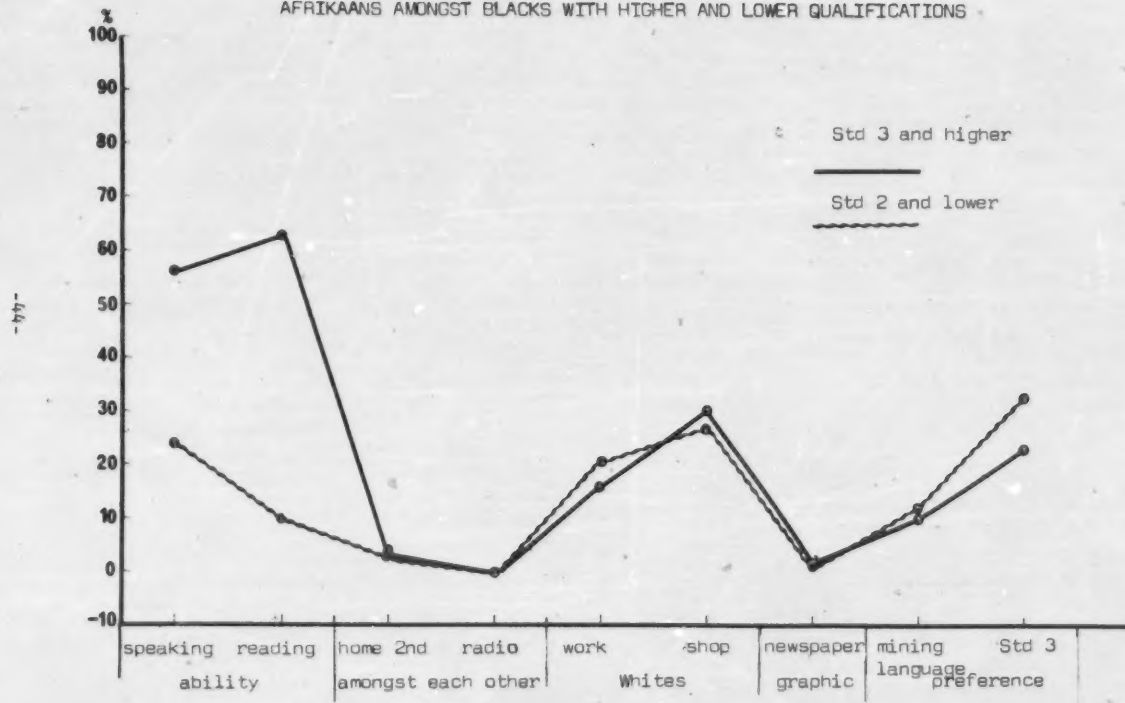


FIGURE 2.12.2
ENGLISH AMONGS BLACKS WITH HIGHER AND LOWER QUALIFICATIONS

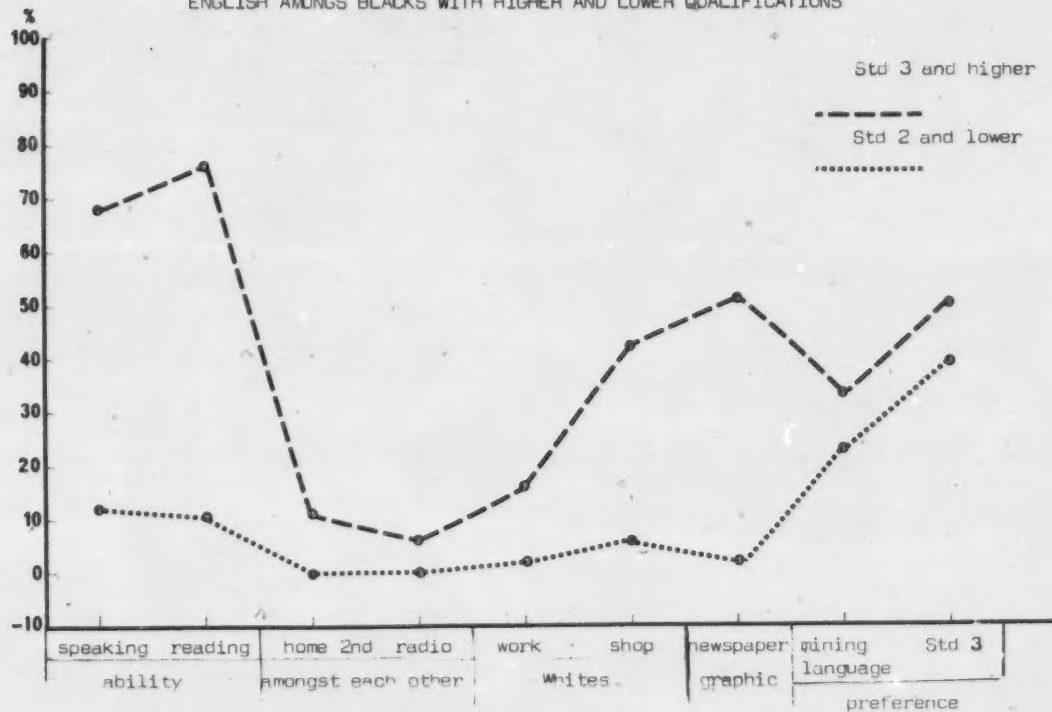


FIGURE 2.12.3

AFRIKAANS AMONGST URBAN AND RURAL BLACKS

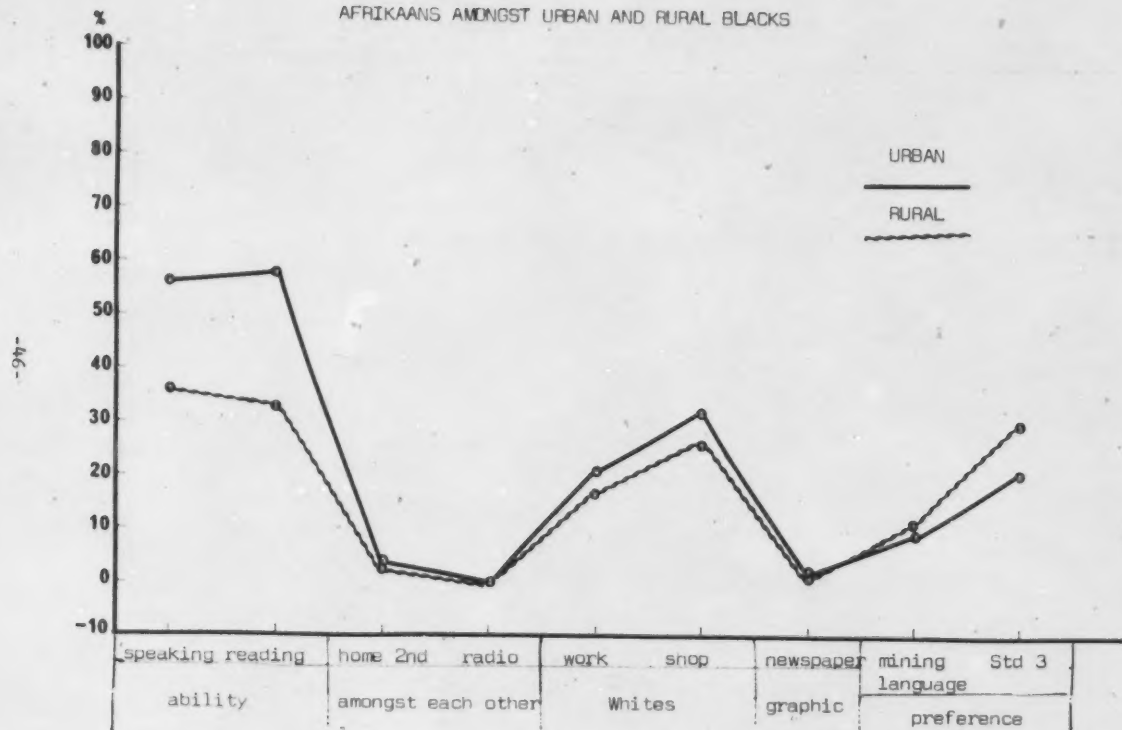


FIGURE 2.12.4

ENGLISH AMONGST URBAN AND RURAL BLACKS

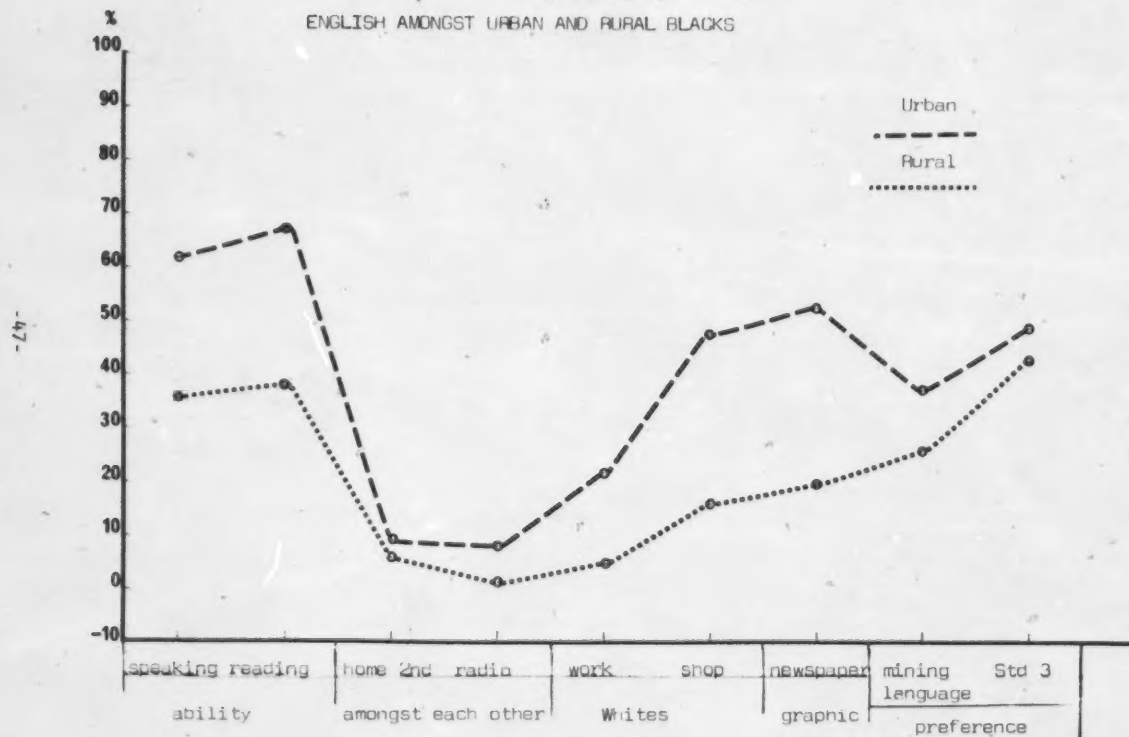


FIGURE 2.12.5
AFRIKAANS AMONGST YOUNGER AND OLDER BLACKS

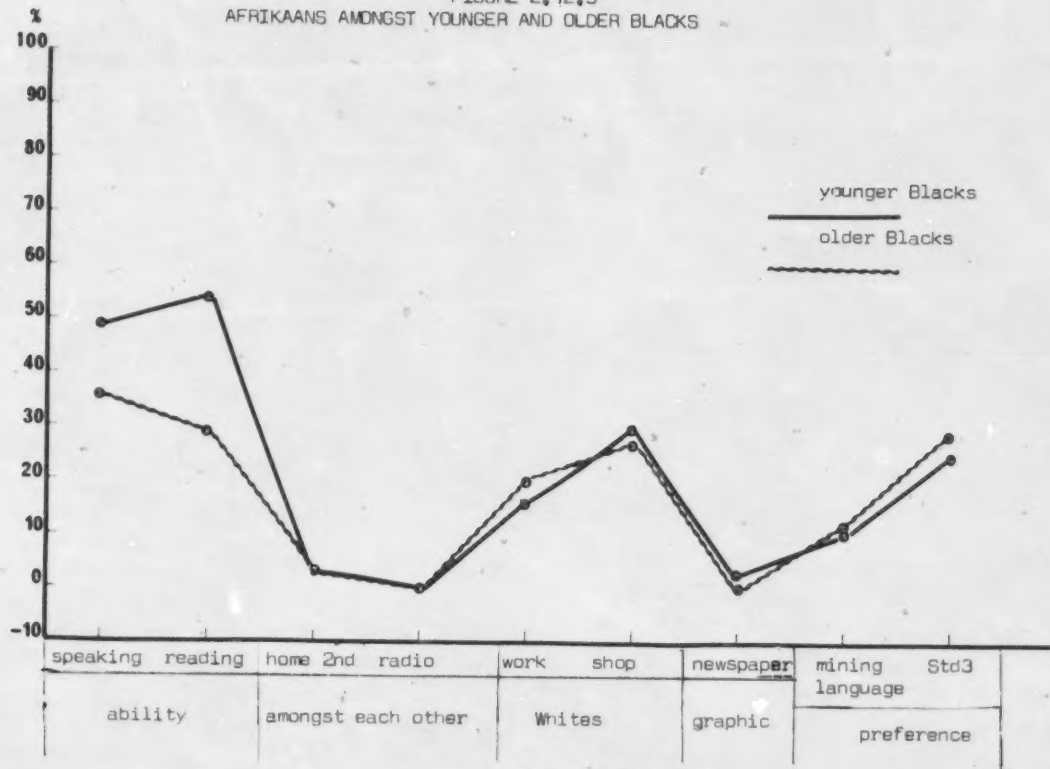


FIGURE 2.12.6
ENGLISH AMONGST YOUNGER AND OLDER BLACKS

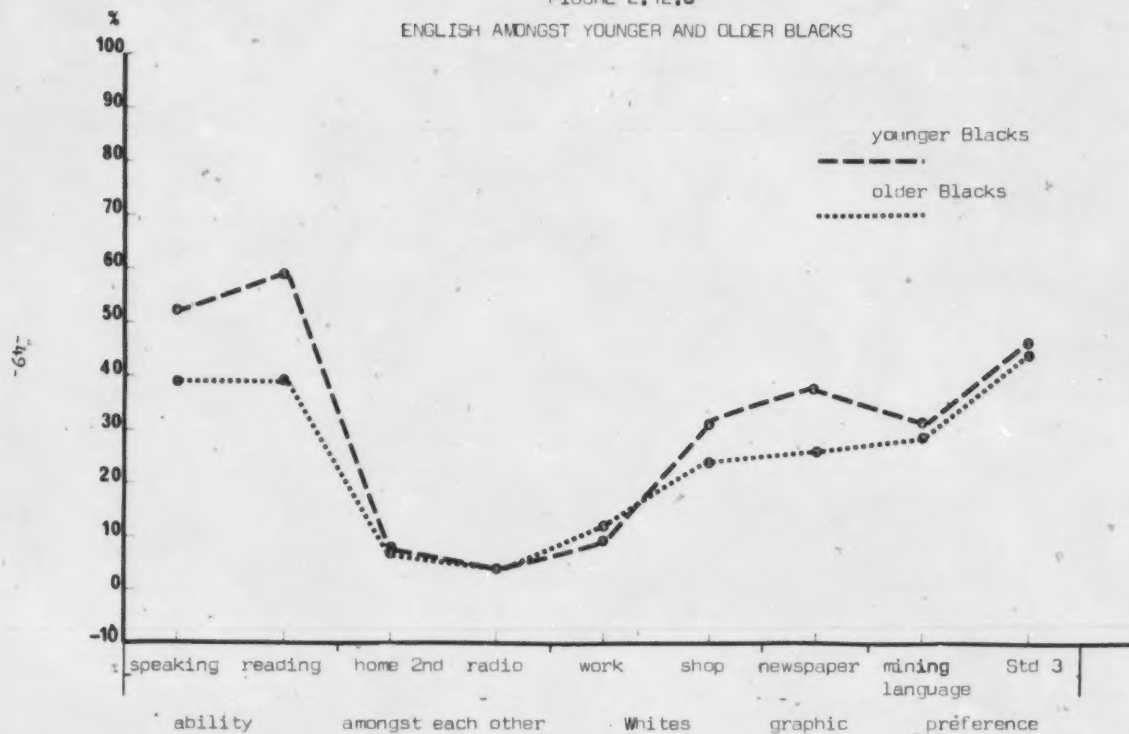


FIGURE 2, 12, 2

AFRIKAANS AMONGST MEN AND WOMEN

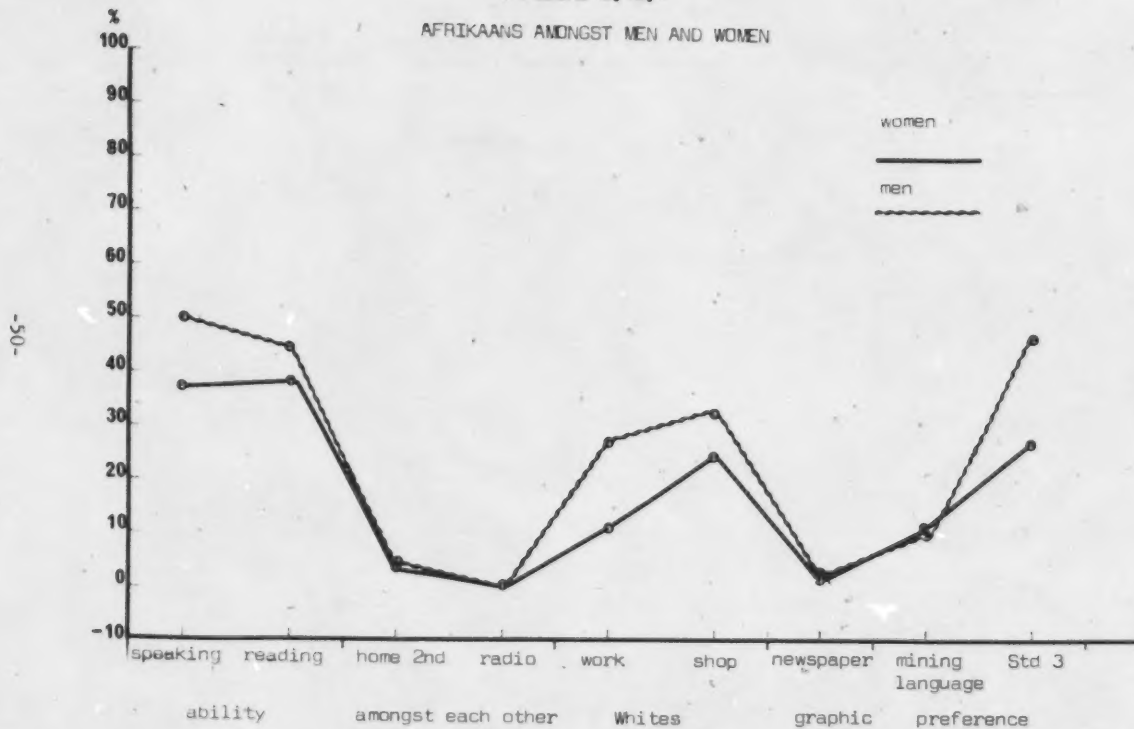


FIGURE 2.12.8
ENGLISH AMONGST MEN AND WOMEN

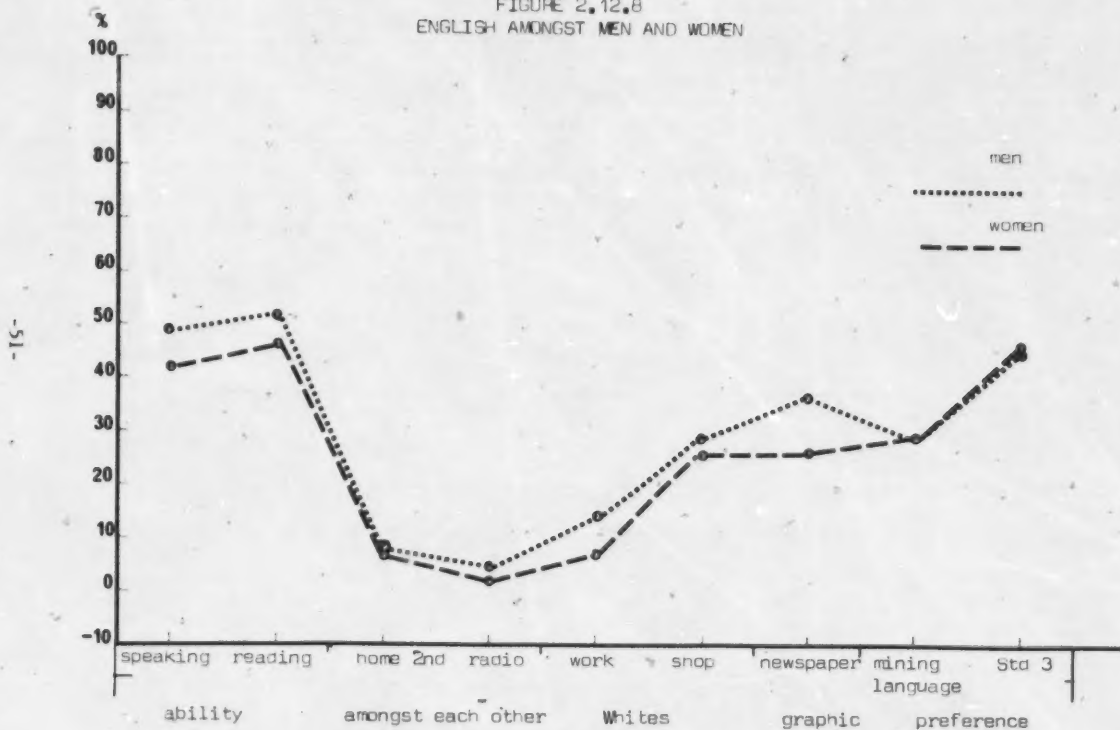


TABLE 2.13
THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS AMONGST VARIOUS BLACK GROUPS

			Level of Education		Residence		Age		Sex	
Sphere	Number of question	Contents of question	Std 3 and higher	Std 2 and lower	Urban	Rural	15-29yrs	30-54yrs	Female	Male
Ability	13	Speaking	E=11,9*	A=11,2*	E=6,6*	A=0,1 ⁺	E=3,1 ⁺	E=1,4 ⁺	E=4,9*	A=0,8 ⁺
	36	Reading	E=12,5*	A=0,2 ⁺	E=10,0*	E=5,8*	E=4,9*	E=9,6*	E=7,7*	E=6,9*
Use amongst each other	18(b)	2nd language at home	E=8,2*	A=2,6 ⁺	E=4,4 ⁺	E=3,4 ⁺	E=4,6*	E=2,9*	E=3,4 ⁺	E=4,2 ⁺
	23(a)	Radio	E=5,7*	A=0,2 ⁺	E=7,3*	E=1,1 ⁺	E=3,3 ⁺	E=3,2 ⁺	E=1,8 ⁺	E=5,0 ⁺
Use with Whites	28(c)	At work	E=A	A=18,5**	E=1,1 ⁺	A=12,2*	A=7,8*	A=7,4*	A=3,3 ⁺	A=12,5*
	29(c)	With shopkeeper	E=12,8**	A=21,0**	E=15,4**	A=9,8*	E=0,8 ⁺	A=2,9*	E=1,6 ⁺	A=4,0 ⁺
Graphic use	38(a)	Language of newspaper	E=49,0***	E=1,6 ⁺	E=50,7***	E=18,4**	E=34,7***	E=24,6**	E=24,6**	E=35,4***
Preference	47	In place of Fanakalo	E=24,2**	E=11,2*	E=27,3***	E=14,4**	E=21,7**	E=16,0**	E=18,1**	E=19,5**
	49(c)	Medium of instruction for Std 3	E=26,9***	E=5,5*	E=27,9***	E=12,8**	E=20,8**	E=15,4**	E=18,3**	E=17,9**
Minimum difference - Afrikaans:English			4,2	5,1	5,5	4,0	4,6	4,6	4,8	4,4

TABLE 2.14
THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS AMONGST VARIOUS BLACK GROUPS - SIMPLIFIED TABLE

			Level of Education		Residence		Age		Sex	
Sphere	Number of question	Contents of question	Std 3 and higher	Std 2 and lower	Urban	Rural	15-29yrs	30-54yrs	Female	Male
Ability	13	Speaking	*	+	*	+	+	+	*	+
	36	Reading	*	+	*	*	*	*	*	*
Use amongst themselves	18(b)	2nd language at home	*	+	+	+	*	+	+	+
	23(a)	Radio	*	+	*	+	+	+	+	*
Use with Whites	28(c)	At work	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	29(c)	With shopkeeper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Graphic use	36(a)	Language of newspaper	***	+	***	++	++	++	++	***
Preference	47	In place of Farekalo	++	*	***	++	++	++	++	++
	49(c)	Medium of instruction for Std 3	***	*	***	++	++	++	++	++



= The percentage for Afrikaans is higher than for English



= The percentage for English is higher than for Afrikaans



= The percentages for English and Afrikaans are exactly equal.

5.1 BLACKS WITH LOWER AND HIGHER QUALIFICATIONS

Blacks with higher qualifications speak just as much Afrikaans as English to Whites in the work situation. In all other cases Blacks with higher qualifications use more or much more English than Afrikaans. When one considers that contact with Whites in the work situation is actually a typically Afrikaans affair, then the fact that no less than half of the Blacks with higher qualifications use English in this situation is also proof that English is very prominent amongst Blacks with higher qualifications.

The Blacks with lower qualifications prefer English to Afrikaans but are better acquainted with the latter than the former (particularly as regards speaking) and use Afrikaans more often than English (particularly when speaking to Whites). The preponderance of English over Afrikaans in the case of reading newspapers is also limited, whereas the other groups mainly read newspapers in English. The preference for English above Afrikaans illustrates that the former is also a prestige language in the eyes of the Blacks with lower qualifications, but this preference is not as marked as it is amongst Blacks with higher qualifications or in any other group. Afrikaans is thus fairly prominent among those with lower qualifications.

Once again, these findings confirm that English is the prestige language amongst Blacks; those with higher qualifications generally have a higher social status than those with lower qualifications. Afrikaans, on the other hand is the language used for everyday purposes; the unqualified or those with low qualifications might not have learned Afrikaans at school, but could have done so in everyday life, particularly in association with Whites.

5.2 URBAN AND RURAL BLACKS

The urban Blacks have a better knowledge of English, use it more often and prefer it to Afrikaans. As in the case of those with higher qualifications, English is far more prevalent than Afrikaans amongst urban Blacks.

Rural Blacks definitely speak more Afrikaans than English when conversing with Whites. However they can read English better than Afrikaans and prefer it to Afrikaans. Nevertheless, the role of Afrikaans amongst rural Blacks is so important that the preponderance of English over Afrikaans in the reading of newspapers and in language preferences is less than half as great as is found amongst urban Blacks. Afrikaans thus has an important function in the rural areas and particularly in contact with Whites. However, it would seem that owing to its greater popularity, the ability to speak English is also beginning to prevail over Afrikaans in the rural areas, as it already does at the graphic level.

Therefore, English rather than Afrikaans is the language of the city, where Blacks have more opportunity to share in the development of Western civilization than they do in the rural areas. Unlike English, Afrikaans is more the language of the rural areas where the earnings and influence of 'modern life' are less than in the metropolitan areas for example.

5.3 YOUNG AND MIDDLE-AGED BLACKS

The differences between English and Afrikaans that accompany age differences are small. However, it would seem as if the preponderance of English over Afrikaans amongst the younger Blacks is

perhaps a little greater than amongst the middle-aged. The younger Blacks and the middle-aged ones speak about as much English as Afrikaans to White shopkeepers. The younger Blacks possibly speak a little more English than Afrikaans and the middle-aged a little more Afrikaans than English in this situation, but the differences are so small as to appear fortuitous.

5.4 MALE AND FEMALE BLACKS

As in the case of age, sex has little influence on the situation regarding the use of English and Afrikaans amongst Blacks. English is possibly a little more predominant amongst the women than the men, whereas Afrikaans is perhaps a little more prevalent amongst the men than the women. The women, for example, speak only a little more Afrikaans than English when talking to Whites at work, whereas the men use a great deal more Afrikaans than English in the same situation. When speaking to White shopkeepers the women possibly speak a little more English than Afrikaans, whereas the reverse applies to the men.

5.5 COMPARISON OF THE DIFFERENT GROUPS

From the foregoing it is clear that qualifications and domicile are accompanied by great differences between English and Afrikaans. Age and sex are far less important in the study of English and Afrikaans amongst Blacks.

It is common knowledge that there are more persons with higher qualifications in the cities than in the rural areas. The question arises as to whether the predominance of English as opposed to Afrikaans amongst persons with higher qualifications and urban Blacks is a phenomenon which has more to do with

the higher educational qualifications or the fact of living in a city. In order to answer this question, qualifications and domicile were used together as a classifying factor in the sample. This leaves one with four groups of respondents, namely:

- (a) The urban respondents with higher qualifications.
There were 956 of these, i.e. 26,2 per cent of the total sample.
- (b) The rural respondents with higher qualifications:
1195 persons, i.e. 32,7 per cent of the sample.
- (c) The urban respondents with lower qualifications:
N = 306, i.e. 8,4 per cent of the sample.
- (d) The rural respondents with lower qualifications:
the 1196 persons falling into this group constitute 32,7 per cent of the test group.

It appears from the answers of the above-mentioned four groups to some of the language preference questions that both the qualification level and domicile are linked with differences between English and Afrikaans, but that the former exercises a greater influence than the latter on the difference between English and Afrikaans. Compare Table 2.15 and Figure 2.15 on the following pages.

The greatest difference between English and Afrikaans is apparent in the case of the urban Blacks with higher qualifications, followed by the rural Blacks with higher qualifications, then the urban Blacks with low qualifications and lastly the rural Blacks with low qualifications. For example, the difference between the choice of English and Afrikaans as the medium of instruction for Standard 3 for the four groups in the given sequence is 33,6, 24,0, 12,3 and 3,6 respectively.

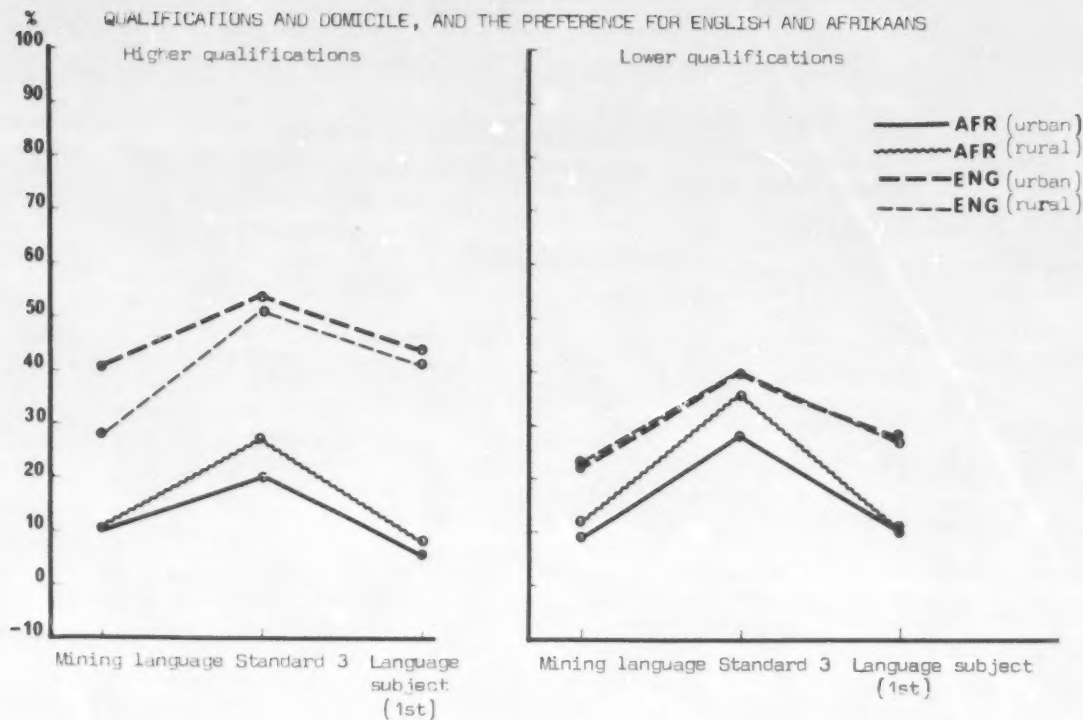
TABLE 2.15

QUALIFICATIONS AND DOMICILE AND THE PREFERENCE FOR ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

Question number	Content of question	Blacks with higher qualifications				Blacks with lower qualifications			
		Urban		Rural		Urban		Rural	
		Eng.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr.	Eng.	Afr.
47	Instead of Fanakalo	41,4***	9,5	28,0**	9,9	21,6**	8,5	23,1*	12,4
49(c)	Medium of instruction for Std 3	53,8***	20,2	51,0**	27,0	40,1*	27,8	39,6*	36,0
52(a)	Most important language subject	43,9***	6,1	40,8***	7,6	27,5***	10,1	26,8**	10,6

Minimum difference - Eng.:Afr.

FIGURE 2.15



CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following were some of the aspects indicated in the foregoing discussion -

- (a) that knowledge of English is relatively prevalent in the graphic skills (reading and writing), whereas Afrikaans, although approximately equal to English, is relatively prevalent in the acoustic skills (understanding and speaking);
- (b) that English is used more often than Afrikaans at the graphic level (for example in reading newspapers and writing letters), whereas Afrikaans is used more often than English at the acoustic level (for example when speaking to Whites at work), or about as often as English (for example when speaking to White shopkeepers) or less often than English (for example at parties;
- (c) that English is far more popular than Afrikaans, but that for practical purposes Afrikaans is not ignored by Blacks;
- (d) that English is more strongly established amongst those with higher qualifications and amongst urban Blacks than Afrikaans, whereas the latter plays an important role amongst rural Blacks and those with lower qualifications, particularly at the acoustic level when in contact with Whites.

The most acceptable summarized statement about this state of affairs is probably that English is more prestigious, whereas Afrikaans has more of a pragmatic value for South African Blacks between the ages of 15 and 54.

This report does not attempt a complete discussion of the position of English and Afrikaans amongst Blacks. In subsequent reports on this investigation attention might with profit be devoted to such matters as the following:

- (a) The geographical distribution of English and Afrikaans amongst Blacks, for example in the provinces and in the homelands.
- (b) English and Afrikaans amongst the different language groups: Xhosas, Zulus, et cetera.
- (c) Social status and/or occupation and/or income and English and Afrikaans. For example, it might be illuminating to investigate the position of English and Afrikaans amongst teachers, farm labourers and in other occupations.
- (d) Unilingualism and bilingualism in respect of English and Afrikaans. For example, how many only have a knowledge of Afrikaans, how many a knowledge of English only and how many have a knowledge of both?
- (e) The analysis of the tape-recordings of English and Afrikaans. Two students are engaged in writing M.A. theses on the Afrikaans tape-recordings, but it is also essential for the English ones to be analyzed.

The aim of this report was, in the first instance, to describe the position as regards the use of English and Afrikaans in the RSA, on the strength of a few basic phenomena. The aim was not to assess the position regarding the use of English and Afrikaans. Nevertheless, it might perhaps be valuable to make a few remarks in this context:

- (a) This study discusses the position of English and Afrikaans as it was in 1975, but historical development should also be taken into account in assessing the position. Dr W.W.M. Eiselen made the following statement:

"When the 'Wonder of Afrikaans' occurred and came into its own - officially: In the White schools and in the pulpit, the Bantu were forgotten. For them there was still only one official language."

"It was more than ten years later before Afrikaans became a compulsory school subject in the Free State Native schools. It was introduced in the Transvaal in 1936. ... the situation in the Cape and Natal remained unchanged, until the institution of Bantu Education in 1954 when Afrikaans was also introduced into their schools" (Hoofstad, 12 June 1971).

- (b) It would seem as if English is firmly entrenched amongst the Black population and that as illiteracy diminishes, the knowledge of English will increase. However, the evident backlog in Afrikaans at the graphic level particularly, should receive attention. It would benefit Blacks if they realized that many publications in scientific and other fields are only available in Afrikaans, particularly the publications of a specifically South African nature, such as studies on

aspects of agriculture. It is therefore desirable that more attention be devoted to the graphic aspects of Afrikaans. Here, for example, one is thinking of the possibilities opened up by new and existing language courses and of the desirability of making reading material in Afrikaans available to Blacks (newspapers, et cetera).

- (c) In 1972 Miss Stella Sigcau, the former Transkeian Minister of Education, summed up the situation with regard to Afrikaans as follows: "My government has no intention of pushing Afrikaans into the background. It is a language not generally spoken in Transkei, but as long as it remains a language of the Republic, our children will learn it!" (Rapport, 22 October 1972. My underlining: GKS). The current investigation confirms this statement. Blacks need Afrikaans in order to be able to communicate with Afrikaans-speaking Whites, particularly at work and this is possibly why they too wish to retain it as a school subject. The continued existence of Afrikaans amongst Blacks is thus apparently not primarily determined 'in the streets of Soweto' but by the Whites.

The knowledge that Blacks acquire of Afrikaans will be decided by the extent to which Whites develop, enrich and use this language.

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